

4 (1) Observations upon the late Revolution in England.

IF it be true that Interest is often mistaken, tho it never lye, and that Standers-by sometimes see more than Gamesters, tho they do not understand the Game so well, it may not be false, that the politick Drivers of our late Revolution in England (who, 'tis to be fear'd, have too many of them design'd their private interest at least as much as that of the publick) have mistaken their way to both, and that one who has been no more than an indifferent looker on, and who pretends not otherwise to be clearer-sighted than others, has observ'd some things which the abler Gamesters have not been aware of. Whether it be so or not, who pleases to read the following Observations may judge. I will preface no more to him, whoever he be, than that if he examine them, as they have done the matter of fact on all sides, without prejudice to any, he will judge the better: And that since my kindness for my Friends and Country, is the only motive I can have to expose my thoughts of this nature, he will be very unkind if he does not forgive what he does not approve.

First Observation.

That tho Religion in the contrivance of this turn, was call'd upon at first to serve the turn of Interest, as it has ever been put to do in changes of this kind, and did sanctifie a little while the Pride and Ambition of private men, with the name of *Blessed Reformation*; and made Saints among the ignorant people of the worthy Gentlemen so qualify'd, it has nevertheless been treated by them with less ceremony than has been shown it before on such occasions. That Mask was immediately thrown off here, and Interest appear'd bare-fac'd in every bodies mouth from the very beginning. Our true Protestant Generals and Officers from the first removal of some of them from their employments, began to roar abroad without ceremony, they would stand by their Religion, and show themselves Protestants to the last drop of their blood; for all their Commands would in time be given to Papists. Our Conscientious Lawyers upon the same occasion declar'd in *Westminster-hall* it self, they were see'd by the Protestant Religion, and would defend it as long as they could speak, for Papists were setting up to run away with the profits of that sweet place, and all their beneficial employments. Our reverend Clergy of all degrees were provok'd, both in Pamphlets and Pulpits, to pronounce to us the danger our Religion was in, for *Magdalen-Colledge* was already given to the Papists; and to tell us thereupon, they never meant by their doctrine of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience, which they had preach'd so long, not to stand up for their spiritual preferments against any Antichristian King in Christendom, who would take them away. Our Lords and Commons of business and interest, of estates and pleasure, cry'd out altogether they would have no Popery, for none but Papists could be heard or lookt upon at Court; and even those Gentlemen whom they had us'd to snub and threaten, from their Affizes and Sessions, with taking away their Catholick Houses, and two thirds of their damn'd Popish Estates, came up now and noz'd them upon all their Country Benches. In short, men of War, men of Law, men of Gospel, men of all kinds, profess plainly to stand up for their Liberty and Property against their King; and that not so much by covering them, under the defence of their Religion, as by discovering their Religion was to defend them. So that tho Religion was advanc'd sometimes to lead up the common people, and marcht along with Liberty and Property at the head of parties and pamphlets, when there was occasion to appear in publick, it was plain that my Lords and Gentlemen had no other use of it, than to gull the Commonalty, and that the profits and preferments of the Government, to which the laws and possession gave them a title, were the things they would never part with, if any other King, or if no King, would preserve them to them.

Second Observation.

That their Redeemer, the P. of O. had the same occasion, and made just the same use of Religion, as his religiously aggriev'd Inviters and Assisters into England; his Declaration setting forth the deep sense and concern he had for it, as plainly as they could speak and write theirs. For, says that, (after it has run over many other particulars of Male-administration under the name of Evil Counsellors) To crown all, there are great and violent presumptions inducing us to believe, that those Evil Counsellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill designs, and to the gaining of themselves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their Complices, and for the discouraging of all good Subjects, have published that the Queen hath brought forth a Son, who there have appear'd, both during the Queens pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the birth was manag'd, so many just and ~~right~~ grounds of suspicion, &c. And since our dearest, and most entirely beloved Consort, the Princess, and likewise we ourselves have so great an interest in this matter, and such a right, as all the World knows, to the succession of the Crown, &c. Therefore it is, that we have thought fit to go over into England, and to carry over a force with us, sufficient, by the blessing of God to defend us from the violence of those Evil Counsellors. And we being desirous that our intentions in this rightly understood, have for this end prepar'd this Declaration, in which, as we have hitherto given a true ac-

of the reasons inducing us to it, so we now think fit to declare that this our Expedition is intended for no other design, but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as possible, and that in order to this, all the late Charters may be restor'd. And several other things done, which he knew very well were done before he came our. By which Declaration, whoever observes that the Shooe pinch chiefly in the point of the Prince of Wales, who put the Prince of Orange by his hopes of Succession, even more if he were true, than if ~~it~~ were fictitious; and that therefore (at that time especially, when it was not to be imagin'd the Crown could be got upon any other foot) it was absolutely necessary to make him appear fictitious if possible; and whoever considers these other proceedings of the P----- of O----- upon all occasions, The trouble he gave himself of coming over into England about ten years ago on purpose to help forward the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York; his entering into a Conspiracy (which is averr'd from the mouth of one trusted by himself at the very time) for the deposing K. Ch. II. his unweari'd diligence in thwarting every thing K. C. or K. F. had a mind to have done by their own subjects; his great goodness in providing well for all those persons, who for some goodness or other had incurr'd their displeasure, and were banisht or proclaim'd Traytors by those two Kings; his generosity in sending and making use of the Duke of Monmouth, like foot of Whelp, to burn his paws with setting up for King in England, without Men, Money, or Arms; his Courage afterwards, so much extoll'd, in coming himself, when being rid of Monmouths pretensions, he had the consent of the greatest part of the people and army of England, and knew he was not to strike any other kind of stroke for it, than such an one as he gave with his Whip on a Gentlemans shoulders at Newmarket, for riding before him, wittily enough observ'd then, to be the first he struck for the Kingdom; his great care of K. F. when he was betray'd by his own Army, in sending him a Dutch guard to Whitehall at eleven a clock at night, without his knowing any thing of it; his kind message to him after he was in bed the same night to be gone out of his own house the next morning, to the Dutchess of Lauberdalls at Ham, for the farther security of his Royal person, and to be sure to be gone early, lest he should be troublesome, by being in his way coming from *Stm* the same day to London; his condescension afterwards, at the Kings request to let him go to Rochester instead of Ham, that he might, by his going away, make room for his design of being King, which he was told could never be compass as long as K. F. stay'd in England, let his condition be what it would; his constant and firm adherence, after the Kings departure, to his Declaration (the confidence of which had drawn in all the people to him) First, in his calling a free and legal Parliament, than which he declares to have no other design. Secondly, in the particular care he took for electing to his Parliament, call'd the Convention, all true Church-men, all such as had been discountenanc'd, or brow-beaten before, in the way of Outlawries, or so, by King Charles the Second, or King James; all such as could possibly be found, who had any hand of their own, or relation to those who had, in bringing his Grandfather King Charles the First to condign punishment. And thirdly, in his not suffering any business of the Kingdom to come before, or be thought of, by his Honourable Convention; not so much as his dearly beloved Consort the Princess, who, tho she was graciously mentioned in his Declaration, to have so great an interest in this matter, and such a right as all the world knows, to the Succession of the Crown, was not then permitted to come into England, till they had alter'd the fundamental constitution of the Government, and made him King in his own right; his transubstantiating (as it has been call'd) when he was King, the same Convention into a Parliament, without Writs or new Elections, lest he should not get the people, who had been deceiv'd by their Conventiary Members doing what they never dreamt of in making him King, to chuse such Parliament-men as would serve the turns he had to come hereafter; his plain proofs he brought to them when they were a Parliament, concerning the fictitiousness of the Prince of Wales, according to the last promissary clause in his Declaration, in these words: *To this Parliament we will also refer the enquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all things relating to it, and to the right of Succession*; his choice of men of honour for the new honours he has bestow'd; his filling all places of trust and profit throughout the Kingdom, as far as could be found, with persons of the Church of England; and of good life and conversation; his sending out of England even for Mr. Ludlow, one of the Regicides of his Grandfather, attainted and condemn'd by Act of Parliament for hanging up without a Tryal, to be advis'd with, if not preferred in the Government here; his free disinterested submission of this Kingdoms business to this free Parliament, without any of those tricks as were plaid by former Kings, to influence or byass the Members, as appears, by its being so well an Officer'd Parliament, as it has been observ'd to be in the House of Commons it self; by the Lords Sons he has call'd up, and the new Peers he has created, by his sending his own *Bensink*, whom he never parts with, when he has no particular interest driving elsewhere, out of his Closet, to Vete for Mr. Oats's being a good Evidence again; and by his turning an honourable person (who did him the first, and most remarkable service of any man in England) such an one, as without which, in all probability, he had had but little power over employments in England, out of a very good one, for no other imaginable reason, than for going in Parliament according to his judgment and conscience; his religious way of taking and keeping Coronation Oaths in England, to defend Episcopacy, and the Church of England, as established by Law; for the special performance of which, all England sees it self oblig'd to his weak endeavours; in Scotland to abolish Episcopacy

root and branch, and to establish a Church more conformable to the word of God, for the godly performance of which, all Scotland sees no Church at all. To conclude, upon this whole matter, it is observed, that his Dutch Highness, as well as his English Factors, consulted his private interest and ambition in the Redemption he brought to England, at least as much as he did the good of Religion, or the interest of the Kingdom.

Third Observation.

That as the people of England, and the P. of O. have luckily done their business (as they think) with consulting their Interest too much, and Religion too little; King James unfortunately did his, with consulting his Interest too little, and Religion too much; and both together have drawn such a prospect of Confusion and Destruction to the whole Kingdom, as England it self (to speak a proud word) never saw before: And yet it is not easie to lay the Saddle on the right Horse, or to say on what, or on whom, to cast the original blame. For as it is known on the peoples side, how well the Parliament behav'd themselves towards the Duke of York (notwithstanding the crafty malicious endeavours of that time to the contrary) how they refus'd to pass the Bill of Exclusion brought against him, on the account of Religion, before his Accession to the Crown; how they settled him in the Throne when he came to it, with that reverence, that security, that joy in all his Subjects, as never King met with more: How firmly they stood by him in that early Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth; how the first Parliament of his time, laying aside their apprehensions of Popery, ~~they~~ unanimously settled a greater Revenue upon him than any of his Predecessors had, during life, a thing which our Protestant William, with all the advantages of the redemption he comes with, cannot compass now; and how, according to the opinion of very wise men, far from being prejudic'd by his Religion. He might (if well ~~desir'd~~) have made himself safer and greater yet, by being a Roman Catholic, that if he had been a Protestant; so on the Kings side, it was even confess'd by unbiass'd people, that he had the publick Vertues of a King, and the private ones of a Gentleman; that his Courage, Constancy, Justice, Liberality and Frugality, in their due places, beset him more properly for the Government of England than any King, perhaps, who govern'd it before himself (however he might be deceiv'd) he generally aim'd laboriously at the good and glory of the Nation. But where-ever the fault lay, or however we call it, fault or misfortune of the King or of the People, the matter of fact was, The people chang'd from the best to the worst opinions in the World, of the King, and prov'd the Citizens in the Parable, who sent their absent Lord word, *We will not have this man Reign over us*; nor could the wisdom of those who foresaw what must happen, stem the universal Tide. Only thus much I think will appear to be truth on both sides, that, as Kings are more expos'd than other men, to the delusions of disguised craft, which seeks to impose upon them with a restless importunity, King James might possibly hearken too much to mistaking Priests at one ~~time~~, and to misguiding Ministers at the other: The first whereof, knew not how to drive his and their own interest together, as they meant to do, and the last meant to drive their own, tho they destroy'd his, as they did; and that the people, tho they might possibly find enough from this conduct of his, to justify themselves for changing their first opinion of him, and for standing upon the guard of their Religion and Property, as far as the not contributing to the destruction of them, amounted to (which alone, viz. their peremptory refusing to repeal the Laws, or to act against themselves had evidently brought the Papists to the end of their contrivances, and had done the business for the Protestants, without going any farther) yet, I say, those who are concern'd, can never be excus'd in the length they have gone since, from having done things contrary to the duty, the conscience, the Religion which the Protestants of England have ever profess'd, and from being guilty of acting those Crimes, for holding of which only to be lawful, we have so severely decry'd, and pronounc'd sentence of damnation against the Papists. But it is not the business of this Paper to insist upon that, our present Reformers, as was said at first, having all along insisted upon interest more than Religion, and that work being perform'd already (I fear unanswerably) by the Author of the History of Passive Obedience, and by several other hands, much fitter for it than mine; I am sure, that which is given for answer, by some unknown hand, to that book, That King William as a Foreign Prince, has made an absolute Conquest over King James, tho he did not over the people, and that therefore the Allegiance of the people, and the Oaths they took, are transferred by force, when the people are not forc'd, from King James to King William, is such stuff as those Gentlemen themselves will not own, before people of common sense, tho perhaps it be as much as is to be said for the matter.

Fourth Observation.

That setting aside the question, whether the proceedings of the people of England have been just or lawful, it is observed that what they have done, is directly against their dearly beloved, and espoused interest, and worse for themselves in the same kind, than any inconveniences King James could have brought them under; that is to say, that those very inconveniences, of what kind soever they were, which they apprehended from him, (and every body knows they were

not more than apprehended) are actually insupportable under this change of Government already, and that they will grow worse and worse still, without other remedy than restoring him again; which will appear best by comparing what we fear'd then, with what we feel now.

We fear'd for our Religion then, and have we no reason to fear still? Is it absolutely certain, that Religion, as ill luck will have it, of all others, not excepting Popery it self, the most unrelentingly impatient of enduring any Worship or Authority but its own, should want credit, with a Prince born and bred under it in *Holland*, and brought chiefly by its well-wishers into *England*, to turn both his power and theirs towards its Establishment here. Is it certain our Liturgy shall always continue, which there has been dangerous, not to say illegal Commissions given out already to alter? That Episcopacy shall stand firm in *England*, which has been so early abolisht in *Scotland*. Or if it do stand for a while, that compliance with the Court Interest (as necessary an ingredient, and as shameful a blot as it was said to be in King James's days) shall have no hand in making of Bishops in these days. And if Bishops do Preach and Teach a new complying Doctrine, is it certain the people will always believe and practice the stubborn old? The Doctrine of not resisting Lawful Princes, being plainly against the interest of a Prince made against Law, may we safely count upon it, that that Church which has ever taught that Doctrine, shall be always prefer'd by a Prince who has not been altogether so unmindful of his Interest as his predecessor, and who sees besides, he shall not at all disoblige his Protestant Allies, by trimming our Church more after their Cut? We see the contrary to all these already: We see every Bishop, chose since our Reformation, of another stamp than of the true Church of *England*, such as have been ever blown about, not only with every wind of Doctrine, but with every change of Government, such as are more intent at present to mend our Religion, and make new Doctrines for us, than to Preach the old, or to teach us to amend our manners. In short, we see all Church-preferments, and all our religious favours, bestow'd upon persons, if of any Religion, of that of the Court; and our receipt to cure our fears, as to this particular, has to my thinking, neither taken away, nor less'n'd them, but only chang'd them from Popery to Presbytery, which is at least as bad as the other: I with the Presbyters be not so much the more dangerous of the two, as they have more hands, more cunning, and more credit in *England*. Nor does the dissolution of the late Parliament, which I confess was in being when the foregoing observations were made, or the new proffer'd kindness to the Church of *England*, afford any reasonable ground, to make any recantation. King James's sudden caressing the Dissenters, when the Church of *England* would not serve his turn, was too well understood by all Parties then, to let the same trick everst pass upon any now: A trick, which in plain *English*, is just the complement of one, who having occasion to borrow money, and being disappointed by *John-a-Stiles*, would have *John-a-Nokes* take his application to him for a great obligation. Others had the first refusal, and now, dissenting measures unluckily proving false, a sudden fit of kindness honours the Church of *England*, with an offer of the glory to enslave the Nation, and destroy herself, when the chosen confidants, it seems, would not, or could not do it. But I hope, I need say no more, either to put Church of *England*-men in mind that the P. of O. having lately found he is not strong enough yet, to root them out here as he has done in *Scotland*, is about to require another present supply of Money, his Revenue during life, and their Passive Obedience again from their hands, to enable him to do it; or to let Dissenters see that he will Sacrifice them to his own, to their Enemies, or to any thing that affords the least prospect of advancing his Ambition.

We feared for our Liberties; and our new expedient to preserve us Freemen, is to teach and preach up a Conquest, and to establish Martial Law. 'Tis a little surprizing, that we should take our freedom to be secur'd by courses, which all Nations besides are perswaded takes it away. But if Conquest do indeed, make our liberty greater than a lawful Succession, I am of opinion it would be sweeter, and relish better if we were not clapt into Prisons, for refusing Oaths against our consciences; if the benefit of our Habeas Corpus had never been denied us; if Free-born *English-men* had never been spirited away with Pistols at their breasts, out of their Native Country, to maintain Foreign Quarrels with their blood, and this too without any necessity, since no body can deny, but the 8000 *Danes* brought hither, might altogether as fully have performed our Articles with *Holland*, and left *England* to be defended by so many *English-men*. I confess this compulsive liberty I now enjoy, of opening my Purse as wide, and as often as a certain number of men please, to whom the law gives no Authority over it, and being subject to my next Neighbours good will, whether he will ask me a question about Oaths, and send me to Prison if he do not like my answer, is not according to my taste; and I fancy the liberty which the Protestants of *Ireland* have at present out of their Country and Estates, does not, or at least, will not long agree better with their stomachs. In short, my dullness cannot comprehend, if force upon our consciences, our persons, and our estates, be the true *English* liberty, that it is so much better than our former Slavery, as we have and must give to boot.

We feared for our Properties. The Cargoes and Hulks of Ships enough to make, they say, a tolerable Fleet, and fight us with our own Ships, was once an *English* Property; Is it a jot better secured to us by being in the hands of the French? Was the Gentleman worse in his Property when his pound of Rent put 20 s. in his pocket, than since it puts but 14 or 15? Was the Merchant worse, when in peace with all the world,

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world he had the sea and foreign markets open to trade, than now with his liberty to walk the Exchange, idle, and talk of News, not daring to venture a Ship abroad? Were the Country-men woe when they had Merchants at hand in all places to take off the product of their Lands, or fruit of their industry, than now, when after they have wrought hard all the week, they have their labour for their pains on *Saturday* nights to feed their Wives and Children? For I see not how it can be otherwise, unless foreign Merchants who can trade, take the more compassion on us, and be content to buy our wares at their own rate. Property sure might be as safe by keeping Trade in our own hands, as by passing it into our Neighbours: And the way we take, to my eye, shews directly like his in the *Post*, who would needs kill himself for fear of dying; for we have just lost our Properties for fear of losing them: They are, and will be evidently less, by so many Millions as have been, and must be given out of them; and so much decreas'd, is so much lost in my Arithmetick. I should never have thought diminishing the stock had been the best way to encrease it, when we take out so much, only to enable us to venture the rest upon the thing in the World the most uncertain, The chance of War. As beating makes Children learn; if we should beat the cowardly *Irish* into an humour of fighting at last; if King *James* should find more friends than we yet discover: In a word, if he should prevail any way at any time, we shall have secur'd the remainder of our Properties, which the War, in the mean time, shall leave us, very fairly, by exposing them to the courtesie of the Man we fear'd, and by forfeiting them legally to the Law, with which we will not have him Dispenſe. However it go, I for my part do not think the event of a Battel good security, &c could be every jot as well content, to fear for my Money and receive it, as not to fear and go without it.

Lastly, we fear'd for our Laws, not so much I believe for what was done, as for the manner of doing it, for I am perswaded a good part of what *K. James* did, might have been done for him in a legal way, and with the consent of the people; but when we saw him assume a Dispenſing Power, not vested in him by Law, we were sensible that the same power which over-ru'd one law, might over-rule another, and all, and fear'd the pernicious Example: This, I think, was the Cause and the Disease. The Antidote now which we have taken against the Poyſon of this bad Example, is it not an Example as bad, or worse, and our remedy against one illegal power, which we have pull'd down, a setting up another altogether as illegal?

For the Law acknowledges not for a legal Parliament, any number of men, who are strong enough, a legal call; no, tho they convene in the Parliament-House, and Vote themselves a Parliament, nor that man for a King, whom the Law places not in the Throne. Unriddle me now, who can, in what an illegal dispenſing power, was more dangerous to our laws, than an illegal enactive, or an illegal executive power is; or in what the abdicated example of *K. J.* to dispenſe with some laws, was worse than the example set up now, by which any number of men who are strong enough, may assume an absolute power to dispose of all our laws, our religion, our bodies, consciences and puries, as they please, with no more ceremony than the formality of a Transubstantiating Vote. A Liberty and Property-defending Army of *Englishmen*, has done little less within the memory of man, and if our *Dutch*-redeemers should take it for the fashion of the Country, and to compleat our redemption, set up for the Parliament of *England*, which way can we plead our laws in bar to them, which we have over-ru'd already our selves? In short, illegality is always illegality, and if that were the intollerable pernicious thing before, it is so much the more intollerable now, by how much a Legislative illegality is more pernicious than a Dispenſative one, and an usurped Executive Power, more dangerous than a legal one; and yet the wisdom of our *fears* has drank down one, as a destructive disturbing; and the other, as a healing settling draught. I am far enough from kindness to either, but I will say for the destructive one, that it has been, at least, the more modest of the two, for it only made bold with a single superstructure, by dispenſing with the Test-act (without which our Government had stood many a fair age) and that too with a pretence on its side of its being law, in the interval of Parliament, and of referring it to a Parliament when it met; whereas our settling illegality has fallen confidently upon the very foundations of our constitution, and pull'd them quite away. The *English* Government has hitherto stood upon these fundamental maxims, *That the King never dyes, and that all Authority is derived from him.* For our wise Ancestors were so sensible of the ruinous consequences of *Interregnums, Elections and Seditions* and saw so well that nothing could prevent them, but a legal King always in being, that they would not allow to Death it self, with all its irresistible power over the Man, any power over the King, but made the same moment which receiv'd the last breath of the man, breath his Regal Power into the next of blood; and then placing the Fountain of all Authority in this immortal King, stopp'd up for ever all pretending streams of *Sedition*. By this it was made impossible, for any pretence to cheat or hinder the people from distinguishing the *Seditious*, which they were to avoid, from the just power which they were to obey; there being no more to do but to ask which flow'd from that fountain, which they had centriv'd should always run. Now we have introduc'd vacant Thrones, filling them as pleasure or humour, not as blood directs, and a new power over our fundamentals themselves, nor deriv'd from the old only fountain; and now to make the hinges strait, upon which how much soever they were sway'd before by dispenſing, our Government still mov'd, we have knock'd them quite off. I will not be the melancholly Prophet to foretel what will be the consequence, but leave every one to guess, who will reflect what they have seen and felt in one years time.

Objerv. 1. That already no man can count upon Law or his Estate, or know what either is; for Judgments of all kinds given in our Courts of Justice (if we may believe Lawyers) according to law, are revers'd, and discharg'd without any exception shov'd to them; and our estates are less than they were last year by a fourth, and to some, a third part. No man can promise to lye in the same bed at night out of which he rose in the morning. For if a certain Gentleman call'd a Sergeant at Arms (who has walk

Streets (more frequently this year than ever, upon those errands) invite any passenger to his lodging, there is no refusing his civility. The height of merit, the spirit of Souldiers to serve their King and Country is become a forfeit of the right of a free-born *Englishman*, no man being able to say he shall breathe his native air, as long as there are quarrels abroad, in which his starving or knocking on the head may be useful. Our general liberty of Conscience is confin'd to those who make none of Perjury, or find hard expedients, to avoid it; not that the Government receives any security from Oaths; for as the Oath of a man perjur'd in any case, is no evidence, there can be no security in that Oath which is the breach of a former, nor confidence in that fidelity, the promise whereof is it self infidelity. Till I can be convinc'd at least by one example of a confiding man, made so by swearing who was not so before, I shall as soon take the Oaths to this Government (which I think I shall never do) as believe the Government takes them for any security, especially while to many think it sinful to take them, and yet a great deal more sinful to keep them; or at least, as I heard a very understanding man say not long ago (reflecting upon the capriciousness of our present circumstances) while men think they shall starve if they do not take the Oaths, and be damn'd if they keep them. But perhaps a Conquest may not seem compleat to our Conquerors, which overcomes not our Consciences as well as our Country: and it may be as useful, if it can be compass'd, as insultingly pleasant to evince the World there grows not now a single plant of unshakable honesty in this Kingdom, that so it may appear charitable and necessary to cut down our cumbersome stocks of *English* grown, and plant us, or at least, engraft us anew with strangers, to make the Nation flourish.

Observ. 6. That, tho we thought to make our court to our new King by deserting our old, as we are generally an honest upright people, our Consciences possibly, if they were not asham'd to speak could tell strange stories of the self-denial this complement cost us, and the hard shifts and pains many of us made, and took to mortifie the struggling rebellion of nature against that which we unnaturally hurry'd ourselves into against our King. And for getting the better of our selves, for the fruits of this glorious Victory, our ears tell us every day, that Cowardize and Treachery (reproaches heretofore unusual to *English-men*) fly in our faces from the mouths of our Conquerors, from such of them at least as cannot be hinder'd from saying what they think, which is enough to instruct us what the reserved rest have to say, whose time it is not yet to speak their thoughts. Our eyes tell us, that no *English-men* is trusted in any thing, nor those who for form sake sit in places of trust, for as our *English* Estates are often settled in trust, our *English* trust it self is in trust now; the fine Titles worn by our Ministers and Privy Counsellors of *England* being nothing but gay Liveries, to make them show the handsomer tools to finish up the work cut out by *Dutch-men* in the Closet. And our reason will tell us we cannot complain, nor expect it ever should be otherwise. For no wise Prince will trust a man whom he has cause to suspect will not be true to him. And our *K. W.* cannot forget that he was not born in *England*, that he did not inherit the Crown, that he cannot reign without Wars and Taxes; and that therefore he cannot (tho he would never so fain) securely count upon those men, whereof every one who presents himself for employment, must of necessity come with this speech in his mouth; You Sir, are King *de facto*, and may be sure of me; for I am just come from being false to a King *de facto* and *de jure* both, who was my Country-man, besides, twenty to one, my particular Benefactor, and whose reign was a reign of peace and plenty. Our Complement therefore has put an inevitable necessity upon our new King, never to trust us to counsel or fight for our selves, but under a sure guard, and to furnish himself with store of foreign heads and hands, to carry on the interest of *England*; at which we are neither to wonder nor complain, for necessity has no law.

Observ. 7. That all this mischief cannot follow only (as some would have, and do infer) from *K. James's* going away, call'd *Abdication*; for tho *Abdication* is a hard word, which I will not pretend to understand, because my Dictionary does not, I am sure it means not what his going away plainly was, trying to escape a foreseen restraint, and escaping at last an actual one. But I guess, what they would have meant by it, is, That *K. James* when he went away, ceas'd to be *K.* some way or other, which yet was neither giving away out of liberality, nor selling for money, nor losing his Crown by chance, nor forfeiting, nor surrendering, nor dying. But what unintelligible way soever it were, the moment in which he ceas'd to be King (according to our constitution) some other was King; in which case we had no more to do but to let our Government move upon the old sure Wheels, and our happiness would have gone on along with it under the new King, whom God and Nature, and the law of *England* have always in readiness for us when the old fails. So that let *Abdicating* signifie what it will, I see no necessity of shaming ourselves with the imputation of a faithless simple people, neither to be trusted by any King, nor so much as with our own concerns and interest; No necessity of Foreigners, and the calamities they must bring along with them? None of subverting the foundation of our constitution, and crushing our selves with the falling Building? It had been but keeping the Laws, and they would have kept us. But as we have handled the matter, with our anteposing and postponing, we have brought the Government of *England* to the domineering of a pure Moblie, with all their whimsies, and all their violence, with only a more formal outside: For there is no such thing as a Government left, to which any body is obliged to submit for any reason but fear: No such thing as Law, which has been, or can be legally made, or executed; and let a man have deserv'd to have been condemn'd never so much this last year, he needs his pardon who condemn'd him. In short, we are absolutely in the state of Nature before Society, where all the power which one man had over another, was his greater strength and all authority violence. 'Tis by violence *K. W.* calls Conventions and Parliaments; and violence is all the validity of their Acts. They have no other authority than the laws which Thieves make among

among themselves to rob the more methodically and safely; and we submit to both, for the same reason, fear of worse. Violence seizes our money and our liberty, and we yield to it, just as we suffer stronger Highway-men to bind us and take our Purse. Were the just Scales of the Law in use (for the dispensing with which in one particular we were in such frights before) every order now for a Tax, every Assessment, every Collection, and perhaps (if necessity help us not off) every payment would weigh more than Felony, downright Treason: And what the men of might do to us, every one of us, who happens to be strong enough, may with as much right do to them.

Observ. 8. **T**O conclude, here we are, and here we must be eternally, till we learn wit of a Carter, and set the over-turn'd Cart on the Wheels again; in plain terms, till we re-settle King James on his Throne. The happiness of *England* depends upon a rightful King, we see it always went out with him, and 'tis in vain to hope it ever will, or can return without him. So our Constitution, so the temper of the People is made, and by a long and sweet experience inflexibly settled. Hither it must come at last, let us torment our brains never so much, and whirl them giddy in the endless windings of projecting Policy. We had a great deal better therefore save our selves, the treasure, the blood, and misery, which struggling vainly against it will cost us, and embrace it unanimously at first. Perhaps we have no time to lose, Foreigners swarm in upon us daily, and if they become too numerous for us to master them, they will in spite of our teeth master us. But it is not yet too late, I hope to shake off our present, and prevent our future calamities, if we be not in love with them.

We may have a lawful Government, and true Parliaments again, security of our Religion, laws and rights, and be once more the Freemen we were born, re-entranch'd from Wars and Taxes; for all these things are waiters in ordinary, and return with the King of course. If any remnant of our former fears hangs still uneasy about us, he is not so far off, but a willing mind may have recourse to him, whether he has more than once invited us for that purpose, and be eas'd. And it is not now to be suspected, he will boggle at condescending to any thing that is reasonable in our fears, much less that we shall ever have reason to complain hereafter of non-performance. For as there is no security like interest, and he cannot but be sensible of it, who sees that not to keep his word, is not to keep his Kingdom. If we have but wit enough to judge as the wise *Romans* did, even upon the suggestion of a conquer'd enemy, that a reasonable easie peace on both sides, is sincere and lasting, an unreasonable grating one on either side, of no longer duration than till the next opportunity for war, and so keep ourselves from giving unreasonably upon him; the wit of a burnt Child in him, will set our hearts at rest for that matter. But have him we must on any terms, or be the most wretched nation under the Sun. For the fire of war is kindled, which of necessity must otherwise consume us. As it has taken first in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, it has hitherto sing'd us in *England* only at a distance, but when the flames spread hither, if it be not presently chok'd, it must entirely devour us. Alas, it will not be as in our late Civil Wars, where the enemy was always a Countryman, often a kinsman or friend, but never without compassion for his own Nation and Language; and yet even those times are remembered with horror. Foreigners now will be the main body, the *English* but a thin sprinkling in the two great Armies, which must fight the Quarrel, and decide the Fate of *England*. Both Armies must live on us, and yet how shall we pay them, when every Redcoat that passes takes the Horses out of the Plow, the Corn out of the Barn, the Cattel out of the Field, the Ware out of the Shop, and when in the general tumult, in every corner of the Nation, here is no levying money tho we had it? Of necessity, then they must pay themselves, and come to free Quarter, and contribution, and Military execution; terms of Art, which as we only find in Gazetts, every body perhaps does not know; that free Quarter signifies so many meals of so many dishes, with so much money under the trencher; contribution, so much assist upon the neighbouring district by the next Garrison, as that Garrison thinks fit, which if it be not brought in by a day, is collected by what they call military execution, that is, by carrying away all that is movable, and utterly destroying the rest. All this is regular proceeding in Soldiers, but we must be at the mercy of every struggling party besides, for there are no strong holds here as in other Countries, to shelter people and their goods from sudden storms; and for any shelter from the Law, it is to add scorn to the rest of our miseries, to talk of law to a Soldier. How shall we *English* bear more than other Countries, who cannot bear of the miseries they endure without compassion for the sufferers, and indignation at the doers? We who cry'd out upon *England* as a ruin'd Nation, if a Soldier, who stole a nights Quarter, or a pot of Ale, took Sanctuary under his Colours, which, contrary to the Kings directions too, as is common, protected him often with design that we might cry out the louder. As bare relation of our neighbours misery is nothing to feeling it our selves, we shall be much otherwise afflicted, when our own persons are seiz'd, our own goods partly plunder'd, partly destroy'd, and our own houses fired. And this affliction too (unless King James end it) must be like that of Hell, without hope of end, for it must of necessity last as long as he lives, or any of his posterity, who takes place of our new crown'd succession; and yet who can answer that a regular War shall be our only, or our greatest misery? If desperate sufferings should grow into desperate rage, and that rage begin to think of the Authors of those sufferings, believe me I should be ill at ease with fear, lest lawless oppressions should meet with lawless revenges, and *Demitting* be learnt of our masters in more senses than one, which God forbid should happen to any, however the Devil has made them deserve it. I hope the most guilty will go quite with the infamy of their Crimes, which will never forsake them; and what a brand to themselves, and reproach to their descendents, must the names of those needs be, who serv'd themselves into an Authority

rity abominably lawless, only to use it extravagantly ill, who with their taxes half ruin'd us before hand, to nourish a War which should ruine us altogether, and who, while they made so bold with our Estates, paid not a farthing out of their own ; for Officers paid Taxes for them, and rewarded them for taxing us besides ; who seiz'd on the Government only to pull it down, not sparing the very foundation, that we might be irrecoverably miserable ; and for a prelude to much worse, have already fixt their animy upon the whole Nation. We live in an Island, where conversing only among our selves, we are apt to think the World goes as the Cry goes with us, and perceive not how abominably we stink in the nostrils of all mankind, besides, not excepting the very *Turks*, nor our delivering masters themselves, for the glory of wearing whose chains, we have made our selves to wretchedly despicable. Not to flatter our selves, all *Europe* loaths a Nation, which having murder'd one King, is now murdering another, and that not by a ragged Mobile whose unthinking fury starts more excusably in horrid Crimes, but by a Mobile of another make, a Mobile of honour dress'd up in the wisdom and devotion of the Nation, a thinking godly Mobile, which kills in cold blood, and fasts and prays to sanctifie the Murthers. To be plain, all *Europe* hates our Hypocrisie, who pretending Zeal for the Protestant Religion, are all the while worse than the very worst of Papists.

Alas ! that *England* should for our sakes, bid fair to lose its old name, and be known hereafter by the name of the *Barbarous*, the *King-killing* Country and our Religion the *Faible*, the *Hypocritical Religion*.

But it is time to end, and I will if I can end with demonstration. It is demonstration, that, unless we recover our old constitution by consent, we must besides the intermediate miseries, sink at last under Arbitrary power. It may be Monarchical, and it may be Republican. But Arbitrary it must be if we suffer it to come either to a Conquest of King *William*, or King *James*, or to a Commonwealth ; which by the way would be the worst of all. We can at least complain under an Arbitrary Prince, and the shame and vexation of just complaints is some check to him, let him be never so absolute. Under a Commonwealth there is not so much as that poor ease. As imaginations of law, or fancy, I know not whether, makes us do, whatever our Representatives do ; no burthen can pass for oppression, nor complaint for just. For we oppress our selves all the while, and must complain of our selves, and whatever we suffer in reality, all is ease and liberty in imagination. But this is no place for the dispute betwixt Monarchy and a Commonwealth. It is enough that Conquest makes a Conqueror absolute ; that nothing can be more Arbitrary than a Commonwealth must be, and that a weight weighs its weight, however it be laid on. It is demonstration that we cannot recover our old constitution, without our old King. It stands upon right of Blood, it fell with that right, and we may as soon build a Castle in the Air, as think to rear and prop it again with our politick fancies. It is demonstration that if the present quarrel come to be decided in *England*, we must either sit still, or side ; and if we side either all one way, or some one way, some another. To sit still and save our private stakes, whoever wins the publick game, may be the project of those who consider not that neutrality is for *Allies*, not *Subjects*. In our case, it is neither possible to sit still, nor to save stakes by it, tho it were possible, for where shall neutrals live, when to be sure neither King will suffer other than declar'd friends in either of their Quarters, nor count those for other than declar'd enemies who are not in their Quarters. However, we understand the true Allegiance which is so dextrously sworn to both Kings, the law includes in it defending them, to the utmost of our power, against all persons whatever ; so that which side so ever prevails, the neuter can no way avoid direct Treason, by the law either of *K. W.* or *K. J.* considering then how much cause both will have to be angry, and how many to reward with forfeitures, Fighting I believe will prove a less hazard than Neutrality, and being friends to neither being enemies to both. To divide our selves between the Kings, will indeed secure the halt which chooses the lucky side, but with a worse inconvenience, for ballancing the parties it protracting the War, that is feeding a fire which must consume the whole Nation, and with it the fortune of every particular man. This is the very worst of errors never to be retract'd, for it will no more be in our power ever to end a War, which by equalling the Forces, we have suffer'd to get a head, than to quench a fire which has got the mastery, and must burn on till it have spent it self in an utter Destruction.

To side universally with *W.* is to put it out of the power ever of victory it self to end the War the most it can bring is a Cessation of Arms till *K. J.* recruits, or his Son (true or supposed is all a case) is grown a Soldier, whose quarrel too, may chance to fight before he be strong enough to fight himself. Neither can we promise our selves so much as a Truce. For as we are impatient enough of being subject to Arbitrary conquering mercy ; 'tis all to nothing we shall while away our breathing intervals, in a new War betwixt Monarchy and a Commonwealth.

As no body who will not purposely shut his eyes, can I think choose but see this to be demonstration ; I will draw out the thread no longer, but take my leave of my Reader and of all *hyper*, if we will suffer our jealousies, our animosities, our passions, and our hate of others, to blind us into a hate of our selves, and what we should value more than our selves, our Country. Our frailties, our errors, our very crimes may yet be cancell'd, and every one who needs a pardon, be sure of it, because he may deserve it. Our Religion and Laws may yet be secur'd to us, our old constitution may yet be recover'd, and with it a lasting quiet, instead of confusion and desolation otherwise unavoidable. In short, it is yet in our choice to be happy or miserable ; to choose misery is plainly a madness, beyond any which ever came within the Walls of Bedlam, and nothing but madness to such a degree can make men do it : As he well understood, who said in his *Pagan* language, Quos Deus vult perdere hos dementat prius ; From those whom *Jupiter* would destroy, he first takes away their Wits.

God in his mercy forbid that we should just be the unfortunate Generation, which fills up the measures of our Fathers, and of which shall be required all the righteous blood shed from *Abel* to *Zacharias*. *Finit.*

